

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 816  
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3130  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 3342

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, NATO  
SUBJECT: ATLANTIC RELATIONS: SYG LUNS' PROPOSED FRAMEWORK  
FOR COUNCIL SESSION

REF: USNATO 3071

1. SYG LUNS HAS JUST CIRCULATED TO PRMREPS A DOCUMENT (PO/73/103) PROPOSING A "CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK" FOR THE COUNCIL'S DISCUSSION ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS. AS A RESPONSE TO THE COPENHAGEN MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE, LUNS' PAPER STRIKES US AS A USEFUL BASIS FOR BEGINNING THE COUNCIL'S EXAMINATION OF INTER-ALLIED RELATIONSHIPS IN LIGHT OF "THE PROFOUND CHANGES...TAKING PLACE IN EVERY FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY." AS AN INITIAL EFFORT BY LUNS, IT IS REASONABLY COMPREHENSIVE AND, IN CONTRAST TO THE DUTCH DRAFT DECLARATION (REFTEL), DOES NOT PRETEND TO BE THE DRAFT TEXT OF AN EVENTUAL DECLARATION. WE WOULD WELCOME ANY COMMENTS WASHINGTON MAY HAVE ON LUNS' PO IN TIME FOR JULY 18 NAC MEETING ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS.

2. FULL TEXT OF LUNS' PO FOLLOWS:

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IN PREPARATION OF A DISCUSSION IN COUNCIL ON 18TH JULY  
I AM SUBMITTING HEREWITHE TO PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES THE ATTACHED DOCUMENT. IT IS INTENDED TO PROVIDE THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR CONSIDERATION OF THIS SUBJECT. BUT SHOULD NOT BE REGARDED AS A

DRAFT TEXT OF AN EVENTUAL DECLARATION.

2. AS TO THE PROCEDURE FOR THE ELABORATION OF AN EVENTUAL TEXT, I BELIEVE THAT, BECAUSE OF THE SCOPE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED, FUTURE DISCUSSIONS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE SHOULD REMAIN IN THE COUNCIL. THIS SEEMS TO ME TO BE IN CONFORMITY WITH PARAGRAPH 3 OF THE COPENHAGEN COMMUNIQUE.

3. I SUGGEST THAT THE COUNCIL BE ASSISTED IN THIS TASK BY THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT WHICH WOULD MAINTAIN CLOSE CONTACT WITH DELEGATIONS.

4. CONTRIBUTIONS WHICH INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS OR A GROUP OF GOVERNMENTS MIGHT WISH TO MAKE, IN ADDITION TO THAT ALREADY SUBMITTED BY THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT, WOULD OF COURSE BE MOST WELCOME IN FURTHERING OUR ENDEAVOURS.

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BEGIN DOCUMENT TEXT

DOCUMENT ON ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE LIGHT OF THE CHANGING INTERNATIONAL SCENE

FROM A REVIEW OF MAJOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS, THERE EMERGE A NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT CHANGES BEARING ON BOTH ATLANTIC SECURITY AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THESE CHANGES INCLUDE:

-- CHANGES AFFECTING THE MILITARY SITUATION AS IT PERTAINS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, AND, IN PARTICULAR, THE SHIFT FROM A SITUATION OF WESTERN STRATEGIC NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY TO ONE OF APPROXIMATE PARITY;

- CHANGES WITHIN THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE, AND IN PARTICULAR CHANGES AFFECTING THEIR RESPECTIVE CAPACITIES TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE MAINTENANCE OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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SECURITY OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MALADJUSTMENTS AND A SENSE OF RIVALRY IN CERTAIN AREAS OF THE ALLIES' ECONOMIC RELATIONS;

- THE NEGOTIATIONS OF A SERIES OF IMPORTANT BILATERAL TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL ALLIED COUNTRIES AND CERTAIN WARSAW PACT MEMBERS;

- THE GROWING VOLUME OF BROADER BILATERAL EXCHANGES OVER A WIDE FIELD BETWEEN COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE AND WARSAW PACT MEMBERS;

- DEVELOPING MULTILATERAL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, PARTICULARLY THE CSCE AND MBFR NEGOTIATIONS;

- THE INCREASING INTERNATIONAL WEIGHT OF CERTAIN COUNTRIES OUTSIDE THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA, AND THE NEED TO TAKE DUE ACCOUNT OF THE CONCERNS AND INTERESTS OF THESE COUNTRIES.

AT THE SAME TIME AS THESE CHANGES HAVE TAKEN PLACE, THERE ARE CERTAIN STABLE FACTORS:

- IT CONTINUES TO BE ESSENTIAL TO PROVIDE FOR THE SECURITY OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA IF ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THAT AREA ARE TO REMAIN FREE FROM THE RISK OF UNACCEPTABLE EXTERNAL INFLUENCES AND PRESSURES;

- WITH THIS IN VIEW, THE PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY RETAIN THEIR VALIDITY; AND THE COLLECTIVE DEFENCE PROVIDED FOR BY THAT TREATY IS STILL AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN GUARANTEEING CONTINUING PEACE, AND A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR FURTHER PROGRESS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS;

- DESPITE GROWING CONTACTS AND IMPROVING RELATIONS, THERE CONTINUE TO BE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES AND CONFLICTS OF INTEREST BETWEEN EAST AND WEST STEMMING FROM THE BASIC INCOMPATIBILITY OF THEIR RESPECTIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS.

HAVING IN MIND BOTH THE CHANGES AND WHAT IS UNCHANGED,  
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IT MAY BE TIMELY TO STATE CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS CONCERNING THE RELATIONSHIPS EXISTING BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE.

(1) FOR ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE, THEIR MUTUAL SECURITY, UPON WHICH ALL ELSE ULTIMATELY DEPENDS, MUST TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER OTHER INTERESTS. ACCORDINGLY, THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE WILL WISH TO CONDUCT ALL ASPECTS OF THEIR RELATIONS IN A MANNER WHICH AVOIDS ANY RISK OF POSSIBLE DAMAGE TO, OR WEAKENING OF THEIR SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS.

(2) IN A SITUATION OF NUCLEAR PARITY, IT IS MORE THAN EVER ESSENTIAL THAT THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE SHOULD HAVE THE MILITARY CAPACITY TO RESPOND EFFECTIVELY, AT THE APPROPRIATE LEVEL, TO ANY MILITARY THREAT. FOR THIS PURPOSE, THE ALLIES SHOULD JOINTLY MAINTAIN THE NECESSARY BALANCE OF FORCES AND NOT REDUCE THEIR STRENGTH EXCEPT IN THE CONTEXT OF AN EAST-WEST AGREEMENT.

(3) ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE SHARE AN INTEREST IN SEEING CONTINUING IMPROVEMENT IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THE SEARCH FOR THIS IMPROVEMENT IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS SHOULD BE PURSUED, AT ALL TIMES, IN SUCH A WAY AS TO

BENEFIT THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE, AND SO AS TO CAUSE DETRIMENT TO NONE. THIS WILL CONTINUE TO REQUIRE A CLEAR SET OF COMMON OBJECTIVES AND THUS TO ENTAIL TIMELY AND THOROUGH CONSULTATION AMONG ALLIED GOVERNMENTS ON ALL MATTERS PERTAINING TO EAST-WEST POLICIES.

(4) HAVING REGARD TO THE COMMON SECURITY NEEDS OF ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE AND THEIR COMMON INTEREST IN BETTER EAST-WEST RELATIONS, IT SHOULD BE THE PURPOSE OF THE MEMBERS, IN THE EQUITABLE AND RATIONAL SHARING OF BOTH THE COSTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE CONDUCT OF ALLIED POLICIES, TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT, AS APPROPRIATE, THE CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE.

(5) GIVEN THE GROWING INTERDEPENDENCE OF ALL COUNTRIES WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND THE INCREASING

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INTERACTION OF INTERNAL POLICIES IN DIFFERENT FIELDS AND DIFFERENT GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, IT SHOULD BE A PURPOSE OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE, ACTING BOTH BILATERALLY AND, WHERE APPROPRIATE, MULTILATERALLY, TO ASSOCIATE, TO THE MAXIMUM EXTENT POSSIBLE, OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE PURSUIT OF THEIR COMMON AIMS OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE, JUSTICE AND PROSPERITY FOR ALL.

(6) STRONG PUBLIC SUPPORT AND UNDERSTANDING WILL BE REQUIRED TO ENSURE THAT THE ALLIED COUNTRIES REMAIN SECURE AND STABLE DURING A LONG PERIOD OF NEGOTIATION DESIGNED TO ENHANCE THE SAFETY AND PROSPERITY OF FUTURE GENERATIONS.

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